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Woman's Wages.

CATHARINE G. WAUGH, A. M., L. L. B.

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WOMAN'S WAGES.

CATHARINE G. WAUGH, A. M.

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PRELUDE.

The following thesis was examined by Rev. Aaron L. Chapin, D. D. L. L. L., of Beloit College, and Prof. Phœbe I. Sutliff, of Rockford Seminary, appointed by Rockford Seminary to decide upon its merits as one of the conditions requisite to a graduate from their college course, receiving the degree of Master of Arts.

Its acceptance pleased and surprised me, as I had rashly ventured to combat some of the theories advanced by President Chapin concerning the inequality in women's wages as set forth in his valuable work on Political Economy.

A belief that the facts and arguments here put forth might interest other women anxious to help their own sex, and a fond desire of seeing my own production in print has led to this publication.

I am not a widow with nine small children, nor a daughter with parents depending on my earnings, nor the wife of a drunkard claiming all my wages, nor sending my brothers and sisters through college by the sale of this book, nor ruined by the failure of a bank, nor burnt out by a fire, nor bankrupt by a siege of sickness, asking the public for sweet charity's sake to invest in this document, but myself a working woman who has experienced little of the injustice meeted out to my sister women, knowing of their wrongs mainly through what I read and hear.

My ideas may bear marks of immaturity and lack of extended knowledge, but I believe they have common sense, truth and justice.

CATHARINE G. WAUGH.

ROCKFORD, ILL., October 19, 1888.

PART I.

EXCUSES FOR INEQUALITY IN WAGES.

WOMEN have been workers from earliest ages; but little mention made of their efforts as a factor in economics until the last few years, probably because their few occupations kept them so retired.

During Harriet Martineau's visit to our country in 1840, she found only seven occupations open to women; teaching, sewing, keeping boarding house, folding and stitching in binderies, work in the factory or compositor's room and domestic service. So great has been the change that our last United States census shows three hundred occupations open, while Virginia Penny's Cyclopedia of Employments for Women counts up five hundred. In the ten main departments of manufacture, including boots and shoes, carpets, cotton goods, silk manufactures and wool hats are employed 535,000 people, more than a third of whom, or about 180,000, are women.

With this addition to the force of public wage-workers, it is fit that this new economic factor be studied. Miss Penny's tabulated list shows that invariably, women received from one-third to one-half less wages than did men for the same kind and same amount of work, and any one who has eyes to see can observe this unjust discrimination between men and women wage-workers, but fail to behold any just reason therefor.

In Dr. Chapin's Political Economy, well known as a student's manual, are outlined the reasons which, in his opinion, have always kept women's wages below that of men's. But they are really nothing but excuses. He says, "It is a prevalent opinion that for miscellaneous labor, women are by physical and mental

constitution inferior to men in the qualities essential to the highest efficiency." There need be no discussion as to the prevalence of this opinion in the past, though the continued achievements of women have been gradually bearing away this prejudice. Even if it was true that women were not capable of the "highest efficiency," there is no contention but what their qualities might fit them for places next to the highest. That would only place them with the majority of the men, for only a minor portion of them have "qualities essential to the highest efficiency," while the majority are either filling secondary places, or those less than the highest and not always filling these with the "highest efficiency." But do women receive the same wages as these inferior kind of men? If so, there would seem to be no injustice thus far, and women could only complain of their lack of qualification. But this is not the case. Labor statistics from all over our country show that where women have been working in trades considered inferior even, they have received less than the men working right by their sides. Even should certain particular women be incapable, that ought not to hinder the woman who did possess the necessary mental and physical qualities from receiving equal compensation for the same work. But, on the contrary, no degree of efficiency in the individual woman has been rewarded by equal compensation. That alone shows it is not the lack of the necessary qualities, but that accident of sex, is the prime reason for the inequality. For instance, a teacher who had shown remarkable ability in the instruction and government of her room was, on account of her superior qualifications, and the inefficiency of the man principal of her building, promoted to the principalship with an increase of salary five dollars per month more than any other woman teacher had ever received. This special mark of favor gave her twenty-five dollars, while the man principal, whose place she received, had been paid fifty dollars per month. Again, an instance confirming the same assertion was told me concerning one of the government offices.

A clerk falling sick sent his wife to supply his place. This she did for many months, working and drawing her husband's salary as his agent, until she became thoroughly conversant with all the business details. After a year's illness the husband died. The wife wished to continue at the same post, but was only allowed to do it at a considerable decrease in the wages; for it was Mrs. A. who really held the position now and not the sick husband, who had formally held the appointment before, while

she did the work. These two instances are taken from many to show it was not the lack of the essential qualities that kept their wages less but the fact of sex. Because the average man is physically stronger than the average woman is no reason why the individual slender man should receive larger pay than some individual muscular woman, or in some occupation where muscular energy is not the main requisite.

But this prevalent opinion as to women's inferiority is not a correct one. Though there are fewer cases of particular women attaining prominence in the public walks of life, is this not because there have been so few occupations open to women, the world has had no opportunity to learn of the ability in them? In home circles, for ages women's only sphere, their efforts have not been open to the public gaze. Many a noble woman with characteristics that in a man would have made a leader famous for grand public achivements, has uncomplainingly, even gladly, devoted these talents to helping perhaps a husband or a brother scale the heights of fame. Pericles' power and renown would have been far less had not Aspasia devoted herself so wholly to his interests. The brilliant Mrs. Fawcett's assistance and care of her husband, otherwise helpless through blindness, has been the secret of his success. Only lately has been understood the value of the work done by Caroline Herschel in helping her brother Sir William. Many a long night did brother and sister toil together, sweeping the heavens with their telescopes, making their astronomical calculations, consulting as to possibilities and probabilities and the methods of proving them. She cared not for fame, glad that her labors could make her renowned brother yet more illustrious, and only the flight of years has shown the value of her work. The wife of the late John A. Logan was a woman of singular ability, and devoted herself wholly to pushing her husband forward as a politician and a statesman. She so wholly made his interests her own, that men antagonistic to him or his plans were subdued by her greater tact. She made friends for herself that they might be her husband's friends. Sometimes the press of business left him little time for the preparation of lectures, and Mrs. Logan would herself write them. Nor did he forget to acknowledge that she collected the materials and prepared his speeches. Still he was the renowned one. Many other women, the majority of them, have thrown the whole of their enthusiasm into caring for their homes and families. To make that kingdom complete and happy requires as many "qualities requisite to the highest efficiency"

as it would to plan a campaign, establish a bank, or manage a factory. Yet, as this more humble work is not public, the world has not credited women with their full ability.

In the last few years, however, it has been demonstrated that sex is no hindrance to the existence of those qualities, and the accomplishment of such grand results as no inferior minds could have produced. Look at the work done by Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War, or at what Mary Livermore did in our own Sanitary Commission; at the honors bestowed on Clara Barton by even European potentates for her sacrifices and ability in the Red Cross benevolences. Remember that the Tennessee campaign executed by General Grant with such brilliant success was planned by a woman, Anna Ella Carroll, and that though Lincoln, Stanton, Wade, and others acknowledged this and the archives of our nation now contain the full proofs, her claim for remuneration has been before Congress for years. Now she who gave time, talent, and money to destroy the rebellion is in her old age suffering from pecuniary want, because she is a woman, and can not push her claim. Mary Lyon, who dared establish that pioneer college for girls, Mt. Holyoke; Mrs. Frank Leslie, who received from her dying husband a legacy of little more than debt, carried forward the business to such success that now every debt is paid and she is a rich woman; Ellice Hopkins who has begun this social purity movement, which is now sweeping over all the world; Mrs. Leonora M. Barry, the greatest Masterworkman of them all in the Knights of Labor, whose advice has always been for peace and against strikes; Maria Mitchell, whose original observations have included valuable examinations of the nebulæ, discovery of comets, work for the coast survey, and compilations for the Nautical Almanac, all of which entitled her in the eyes of the King of Denmark, to his gold medal: Captain Mary Miller, who after long delay in obtaining her captain's license, on account of her sex, and not because of lack of the needful qualifications, was at last legally allowed to continue controlling the vessel she had formerly managed, when her husband was nominal captain; Helen Hunt Jackson, who was so thoroughly posted on all matters pertaining to the Indian question that the President recognizing this ability appointed her on a committee for investigating certain complicated claims,—all these women exhibited the "qualities essential to the highest efficiency" in their various and widely different departments. Turn also to that queenly leader of the quarter of a million white ribbon

women, Frances E. Willard, with her skilled sub-generals, superintending the forty different lines of work, conducting this host on to victory; then to Erminie Smith, the foremost authority in this country on the language and history of the aborigines; then to Mary Somerville, the renowned mathematician and physical scientist, or to Rosa Bonheur, the painter of animals, and then to Annie Whitney, whose recently completed statue of Lief has been pronounced by competent critics as the most exquisite work of art that has come from the studio of any American sculptor. Remember that the book which has been translated into more languages than any other except the Bible, and which was itself the most powerful weapon in the abolition of slavery, was written by Mrs. Stowe. As no man has ever written a book which has obtained so wide a circulation, and men have had opportunities of which women have only dreamed, it would seem as if it were men who "lacked the qualities essential for the highest efficiency" in the field of novel writing.

In public schools woman's ability is being tardily recognized but to a much greater extent in private schools. Some colleges and seminaries for girls are almost wholly controlled by women presidents and professors. In the schools of the Roman Catholic sisters, they elect their own officers and control themselves to a certain extent. At Vassar the professors are of both sexes, while at Wellesley, all are women except the music teacher and head cook. It must be one of the ironical compensations for women's former subjection, to behold a man with white cap and apron presiding over the extensive frying pans. As educators women have shown their ability to fill the highest places.

In matters of general finance, when women have been allowed a hand at it some have shown qualities equal to any man. Theodore Parker declared, that as few women kept house so badly or with such wastefulness as Chancellors of the Exchequor keep the state, womanly genius applied to the affairs of the nation would be extremely economical as well as beneficial. Formerly the family purse was always in the breeches pocket under the control of the *paterfamilias* and so women had no chance to learn finance. Ofttimes men's fortunes might have been preserved, if the wife's judgment had been consulted. But the man thinking that business ability was a manly prerogative and never a womanly one, did not think it possible that a woman's shoulders could carry a business head. There is no sex in the matter, as illustrations like the following will show. There was a certain

learned judge who, though he spoke nine languages, as a lawyer had won large fees and later as judge gained great respect for his learned opinions, found himself utterly at sea when it came to money matters. His wife was a sort of Jenny-of-all trades and mistress of several. While with the husband in a distant Territory, where he was detailed as Judge, she wrote two books, one on travels and one on the Mormon religion. Though refused admission to medical schools, she had picked up from books enough knowledge of the science to be her own family physician and in the twenty years including the birth, infancy and childhood of her five children had paid out for physician's care of herself and family only one hundred dollars. In addition to her household cares she edited a paper for ten years and conducted a mixed school for about that time. Then came the Chicago fire with the financial tottering of many a house of wealth. Through securing a friend and his own mismanagement, the Judge seemed liable to lose all his property. He then made a contract with his wife to run the business for ten years. She put the few houses they still owned into order, erected new buildings on vacant lots, gave mortgages for materials, kept building, renting, mortgaging and paying off mortgages, watching carefully every item of expenditure, having no architect or contractor but making her own plans, buying her own materials and collecting her own rents. At the end of the ten years they owned fifty different buildings rented to ninety different tenants and were in possession of an income that could keep them in luxury. Her dear scholarly husband sat in his study writing articles for leading journals or made extensive European tours searching for further information and was content and comfortable. The mother don't claim to be any wiser than the father, but says finances are just in her line and out of his. If some other poor business men would follow his example there would be fewer bankrupts.

In the department of government wherever women have had a chance as rulers, here they have not lacked the "essential requisites to the highest efficiency." Elizabeth of England and Maria Theresa did more for their countries than any male sovereign. Maria Theresa found her kingdom weak, but by personal inspection of her camps and garrisons so improved the discipline of her army that her greatest enemy, Frederick of Prussia, thought she exerted a magical effect on her soldiers, and said, "The Austrian army was never so well disciplined and managed, and under her administration achieved victories worthy of a great

man." Senator Hoar once said, "Women sovereigns have been wise and able and just in far greater proportion than the other sex. With three or four exceptions, every decent sovereign in Europe since the Dark Ages has been a woman."

Turning now to a different line, Mrs. Minot, proprietor and superintendent of the Fairfax Mills, makes the finest quality of woolen blankets that are produced anywhere in the world, and the first prizes she has taken at many an exposition will prove this. This last case also answers the further objection that men are needed for oversight. When Mr. Chapin says men are needed for exigencies for which women are unequal, the facts often prove the contrary. Trying emergencies of financial or physical disaster rouse the latent bravery of women as a life of ease never could. It is far more likely to be the men who in a fire throw the crockery out of the window and carry down the feather beds. Are not women the last to flinch from any crucial test? In time of trouble does not the mother's heart cling to the wanderer through all his sins until the father takes back the first hasty words? Case after case will show that in unexpected disasters women's quick wit will often discern a way of escape, and should that be closed up, death has been bravely faced.

All these varied instances of women showing marked ability in so many different directions, is a refutation of the statement that women do not possess the "qualities requisite for the highest efficiency," and show that this excuse is not the real reason for inequality of wages.

Mr. Chapin mentions as a second reason why women's wages are less than men's, "In the order of nature and in the constitution of society, the sphere of activity for most women is ordained to be the home, each the solace and help of a husband, and the nourisher and mentor of their children," and adds, that this creates the impression that it is unwomanly to enter certain occupations. It is true that most women by the cares of wifehood and motherhood are kept from going out into the world as do many men, but that should have nothing to do with those who are not bound by these cares. Even if every woman should wish to marry, in sixteen of the states at least some must be left out, for there are not enough men there to go around.

Vice, rum, and war have so depleted the ranks of the men, that although six per cent. more boys are born than girls, this proportion is not kept up. So then women ought not to bear the reproach of the scarcity of the superior (?) beings, and when left

alone without home or friends should have every advantage to combat with the world on equal terms with the other bread winners. That term "unwomanly" is changing its significance as prejudice is being swept away, Formerly it was counted unwomanly for a woman to lift up her voice in prayer meeting, and if any one had been bold enough to hint that women like Revs. Anna Shaw or Antoinette Brown would ever speak from the sacred desk explaining God's word, many a good old saint would have lifted up pious hands in holy horror to avert the consequences of such "unholy innovations," and "unscriptural" proceedings. Some thought it unwomanly for a mother to want control of her own children, or to insist on directing the use of her own property, to attend a clinic, or go into a dissecting room for the purpose of learning the laws of her own being. The two Blackwell sisters and their cotemporaries had much of scorn and ridicule to endure, and some of the number had a baptism of ancient eggs. Yet now there are co-educational medical schools; women like Marie Thompson and Rachel Bodley, presidents of women's medical colleges, and the National Temperance Hospital planned and managed by Dr. Mary W. Burnett. No city of any size in our broad land but has one or more women physicians who have come as a Godsend to many a sufferer, too sensitive to tell all her aches and pains to a man physician. The necessity for women in this profession has given them ample opportunity to show their ability, and now we consider it no more unwomanly for them to prescribe for their neighbor's children than to care for their own. Any occupation entered by a true woman is made womanly by her very presence. Being in a home as wife and mother, taking no part in public life or outside work does not of itself render a woman womanly in the highest sense of the term. It is only the presence of noble, gentle, kindly, brave, unselfish, courageous qualities that ever make any woman womanly or any man manly. A woman can show forth these characteristics whether duty takes her to the parlor, the store, the office, the washtub, or into public life. The woman who in any of these places is not truly womanly, is the one who would not be anywhere, at any time, or under any circumstances. If she was simply a housekeeper, the only reason why this would not be so prominent is because the four walls of home would conceal her faults from the public. But let women step a little out of the ordinary sphere, or more properly hemisphere, so long prescribed for them and no fault of dress, of manner, of taste or of life, of judgment as to friends, children, or

wearing the hair will escape the scrutinizing gaze of the critics, and if one imperfection be discovered, it will be heralded far and wide as an essential characteristic of public women. True womanliness depends on the individual and not on the occupation, and she is truly womanly who follows in the path of duty wherever it may lead her, caring for herself and those dependent upon her. The backboneless, clinging creature is only pictured as the pattern woman in the old time novel or fashion plate, and now-a-days something more useful is expected.

That assertion concerning home life, seems to take it for granted that home cares are inconsistent or impossible in connection with public life. This objection is generally brought forward when women are seeking admission to high-salaried offices, or some of the professions where there might be some honor or financial reward waiting on success, but no one worries about the neglect of home duties in the case of a washwoman with a drunken husband. She might enjoy a quiet domestic life, "the solace of her husband and the mentor of their children," but she is forced to be absent from 7 A. M. to 6 P. M., working hard to provide food and clothes for herself and children, perhaps also for the drunken wretch she once promised to love, honor and obey. No one objects that she is out of her sphere or losing that "delicacy which is the chief charm of womanhood," as Mr. Chapin refers to in reason No. 5. The scrub woman going about from office to office, cleaning floors and cuspidores, than which nothing can be filthier, is clearly in the line of duty, earning an honest living, but who complains in her behalf that her "feminine instincts" should prompt her to draw back from so coarse an occupation which involves such rough jostling with the world? Yet this objection is brought forward concerning a woman physician.

But she could have office hours at home like her brother physician, or if her office was down town she need not be there longer than from 9 A. M. till 4 P. M., and make her sick calls within that time. During these hours her husband is at work, the children at school, and they don't necessarily suffer from neglect because she does not spend these hours making, mending, ruffling, tucking, baking, brewing, sweeping, cleaning and dusting. The competent sewing girl and domestic servant whom she can afford to pay good wages out of her larger fees, can do this work to as great edification of the family as though the mistress' busy brain and skilled fingers should be wearied with work that less skillful hands could do as well. There would still be time left for home-keeping

and that is more important than house-keeping. Homer's Penelope, who spun among her maids, has long been the model woman, but now people of advanced views would think better of Penelope if she should put out her spinning to some poor women who needed the wages. It is as great a virtue for a highly educated woman to give employment in her kitchen and sewing room to poor girls, spending her own time in lines that require careful training, as to sink the whole of her personality in preparing food and clothes. No women has done her duty by herself or the world unless she performs the highest, most perfect service in her power. It is a sin against herself and humanity when a woman, capable of practising the healing art, writing a book, or preaching the gospel, devotes all her energy to providing nourishment and clothing for her family with her own hands, thus keeping this work away from those who need it and depriving the world of the higher work possible for her. As the mental and moral nature is higher than the physical so is their care and training. Home cares have not ruled women out of disagreeable kinds of work, and it should not from higher work. Those instincts whith cause any woman to shrink from necessary work just because every otl·er woman before her had not been doing the same are not feminine instincts, but effeminate ones, not womanly but womanish.

All the public objections made to women's entering trades and professions formerly monopolized by men are often professedly based on the gallant consideration lest the weaker sex be injured. This concern for the tender, delicate women whom they would shield from entering paying professions is touching. In Miss Willard's excellent little book, "How to Win," she says: "The program reads, 'Woman will take the part of Queen in the Drama of Society,' but ofttimes before the curtain falls the stage reveals her as a dressmaker, a school teacher, perchance that most abused of mortals, a reformer. 'This august actress will be escorted to the stage by man, her loyal and devoted subject to whom has been assigned the part of shielding her from the footlights and shooting any of the audience who dares to hiss,' but alas, ofttimes she comes in alone dragging her own sewing machine, while her humble and devoted subject, with tailor's goose in one hand and scissors in the other, indicates by energetic pantomime, his fixed intention of driving her speedily behind the scenes. The program attires you all in purple and fine linen, and bids you fare sumptuously every day, but not unfrequently the stage reveals you

attired in calico gowns, munching your hard earned crackers and cheese." Words of chivalry are one thing, a chance to earn one's bread and butter quite another.

One young woman said, "A great part of this hat lifting and obsequious bowing, and 'My dear madam,' and 'I beg ten thousand pardons,' and 'Gentlemen, give way, the lady wishes to pass,' and 'I am your most humble and obedient servant,' come to us from men who would vote us less than half pay as seamstresses and teachers, who would deny us a chance to earn an honest living, giving us their smiles and favor instead." Such gallantry, purchased at the price of injustice, is naught but a bitter farce, and a true woman scorns it on such terms.

If the great charm of womanhood lies in helplessness, cringing and fawning before a masculine autocrat, willingness to be trodden upon, weak submission to mere brute force, then let the charm of womanhood be abolished, for it is no longer charming but disgusting. The humility displayed by Chaucer's Griselda and Tennyson's Enid are beautifully written accounts of patient endurance of injustice from a sense of duty. But they are not the model women for to-day. Their gentle martyr spirit awakes our admiration, not because that is a distinctively feminine trait, or because their unkind husbands deserved approval, but because they bravely endured what they thought right. It is the motive rather than the deed itself. In the same way Socrates bravely meeting inevitable death challenges admiration. Not that all who might drink the fatal hemlock should be applauded or those who ordered it. So the wretched devotees who throw themselves or their children under the car of Juggernaut win no applause for the horrible deed itself, but viewed from their standpoint of stern duty they are heroic. So, though sweet Griselda and Enid thought they were serving their Maker in yielding to all the injustice, viewed in the prosaic light of the nineteenth century, they were spoiling their husbands and wronging themselves. There is a duty resting upon women to use all the talents intrusted to them, and it will be no excuse when the Lord asks for an account of those talents to say that men thought they would be more charming with those talents tied up in a napkin. The development of a womanly character, perfect in the eyes of her Creator, and her attractiveness to sometimes mistaken man, are two widely separated things. Those who are guided by duty will ask not "What will the men think of us?" but "Is this right?"

Charles F. and Carrie B. Thwing in their book on "The Family," in a comparison of the natural and acquirable characteristics of both sexes write: "Authority in the man intensifies those qualities of character he most needs to repress. Subordination in the woman represses those characteristics she most needs to cultivate. Positiveness, imperiousness and force being the natural qualities of the man do not need to be nourished by the unlimited opportunity for their exercise. They are essentially unlovely traits of character, and should be as carefully repressed as are coarseness, brutality and lust, which are also the peculiar natural characteristics of man. Timidity and self-distrust are also undesirable characteristics. They are weak rather than lovely. They are nourished by the life of subordination to which society has condemned women, while the virtues of courage, self-respect and self-reliance which women surely need to cultivate are thus systematically repressed."

Mr. Chapin gives as a third reason why the wages of men are larger than those of women. "They are adjusted to the presumption that each has or will have a family to provide for, and those of women to an anticipation that each will in due time by marriage be relieved of her own support." Walker in his Political Economy says in the same vein. "Each laborer will undertake the support of one adult female. While the female adds something to the family means, both by what she makes and what she saves, she does not produce as much as she consumes." He also claims that the struggle for existence is not between individuals as such, but between families. How can that be proved? Are their services engaged as families? Do they become responsible for their fulfillment of their engagements as families? Are they taxed as families or for the crime of one, are they hanged by families? Do they become converted by families, die by families, or enter heaven by families? When all the separate actions of their lives are performed in their capacity as separate individuals, and they are amenable to the law of God and man as individuals, how can any one conclude that this struggle for existence is by families? This presumes that one is paid in proportion to his needs rather than according to the value of work done To carry out this theory consistently, a woman in charge of a family should receive wages as a family toiler.

But does or does not the ordinary woman in domestic life produce enough to amount to her own support? She gives her time, her strength, her labor, and her sacrifices of personal pleas-

ure and ambition are greater than those made by the husband. The average woman is the equal of her husband in mental power and judgment, and should have equal weight in decisions affecting family matters. If a mother of a family is taken away by death, what woman can come in and fill her place as nurse, seamstress, family cook, laundress, teacher and comforter without large wages, both for the variety and large amount of work needed to be done, as well as the responsibility? The disconsolate widower tries it awhile, hiring a housekeeper at the ordinary market rates, of course less than any man would get for such an expenditure of strength, and finds even this too expensive an arrangement. As a pure matter of economy he must marry again. No one could be hired for money to fill the mother's place in the home. For the mother there is no regular pay day when three, four, or five dollars per week must be handed over. Her wages often accumulate and are never collected to the full amount, but the majestic "head of the house" need not worry now lest his housekeeper leave on account of unpaid wages. In families where the partnership is considered to be one in the pocketbook as well as in the cares, then, though the woman's work may be great, she has a pecuniary reward. She who "stays with the stuff at home," caring for the common offspring, doing the common work, receives her share of the spoils from him who was out fighting in the busy world. She is the office partner who keeps the wheels running, while he abroad is collecting materials for the continuation of the work. The pocketbook question is still an unsolved one in many a home.

Though it is a common belief that by marriage a woman is relieved from her own support, often by marriage she adds to the number of those whom she is obliged to support. But are not cause and effect transposed in this third reason? Instead of women's wages being lower on account of prospective marriage, do not low wages induce many girls to marry when they are discouraged at trying to support themselves in the unfair competition with laborers who always receive more? Marrying for a home is a thing too common. Low wages have forced some girls into matrimony who would not have sought it voluntarily then, or perhaps forced them into marrying a rich man, when they should have waited until the one they really cared for came around. A woman who accepts a husband for the sake of having some one to pay her bills, really sells herself for a home. It is thought to be a more respectable sale than in the case of a hired mistress, because her buyer is an honorable man, who may care for her or

her beauty. Therefore friends and relatives congratulate instead of scorning her. She may utterly despise, even hate the man she wedded, or may be icily indifferent. But what a contrast to the true ideal marriage! It is a living torment, a constant source of aggravation for two wasted lives. While a marriage license may legalize, no marriage vows can hallow such a union as this unhallowed by love. No other motive should induce people to marry except esteem and love. From unions of convenience and necessity can never come happy families or healthy children. As the prosperity of a nation depends on the health and happiness of families and individuals, and this is governed by home conditions, the subject is a proper one for a politico-economist to investigate. Months before a child is born does his real training begin, and peculiar states of mind between parents at that time have a lasting effect.

Helen Hunt Jackson gives a good illustration of this law in "Ramona," when describing the child of Allessandro and Ramona. "He was as beautiful, and happy and healthy as only a child born of perfect trust and love could be." But many a little life is breathed into existence without this God-given birthright, made mercenary, selfish and unloving by parental mistake and wrong. Dio Lewis classes marriage for money with many things often thought worse. "The father teaching that matrimony is the girl's only resource, the employer paying starvation wages, the fine lady pushing a poor creature back to vice by closing the door of an honest livelihood, in the long run it will be found they have more to answer for than the victims of their false and selfish system." Yet his views are clearly in advance of the ordinary opinions. Dr. Van der Warker in an article in the *Popular Science Monthly* expresses the old feeling held by many in the past, where he says: "Marriage is not an optional matter with woman. It is a prime necessity of her normal physical and intellectual life. The married woman exerts a more marked influence upon men and society in general than the celibate."

Dio Lewis, who is considered far better as an authority, differs diametrically from this man, for he declares there is no such necessity to man or woman. The celibate life is full as healthful, for the force which is not expended in giving life to sentient being, when preserved, tends to more perfectly develop other organs like the brain. Marriage has been held out to girls as their only proper sphere, which they must fill or be forever open to the disgraceful suspicion that they were never honored by

"having a chance." Especially among the comfortable and wealthy classes girls are warned off from occupations that would take years of training, because thereby their matrimonial prospects might be ruined.

From the time the doll is put into the arms of the girl to foster the maternal instinct, to the boy and girl parties, where each one has her little mate among the boys about whom her elders tease her, thinking the little couples so charming, to the supposedly cunning mock-marriage ceremonies celebrated by the little ones; through the fashionable boarding-school life, where the practical is neglected that the ornamental may be plastered on; through maidenhood when the young lady whiles away her daytime over empty novels, dress or silly amusement, just to dawdle away the hours until the evening party where her charms are put upon the market, the whole trend and preparation of her life seems to be for the purpose of catching a husband. Let no one imagine that this is the case with every girl, but it is with some, and is a direct result of the theory that matrimony is the only rightful sphere for a woman. Dio Lewis once said, "If women only had occupations in which they could secure independence, we should soon observe a change in their attitude towards men. Now they have only one trade, getting a husband, and they are not long in discovering the open door to man's favor. Their low necks and short sleeves, their padded busts, the dress of their hips, and pre-eminently their facial expression and bantering small talk, all show, not the conscious purpose of the individual, but the adaptation of means to ends. Whenever in the Providence of God it comes to pass that young women fit themselves to earn in countless trades and professions an honorable living so they can marry for love and not for clothes and bread, this sickening connivance will pass away, and woman's moral superiority will pronounce itself to the infinite advantage of all concerned." Let marriage compete on equal terms with other occupations, and then, with nature on its side, as so many claim, it will still win. But it will not win with many of the best women, unless there is a change. With fair wages for honest work women will no longer seek marriage as a means of support but only for love. Then one great wrong to herself and posterity will be removed.

A fourth reason given by Mr. Chapin is "Protective industry is now organized on the assumption that women's work is to receive less compensation than men's," and in that way the commodities into which women's labor enters are cheapened. He

says too, that if women's wages were raised to the level of men's, distress would prevail on account of the increase in the price of those commodities, and if men's were lowered to the level of women's, distress would prevail in these men's families with their ordinary revenue diminished. It is no good reason for perpetuating an injustice that temporary inconvenience would result from righting a wrong. Temporary loss to the slave owners did not blind our eyes to the sin of continuing that iniquitous business, and why should it here. It should be a question of principle and not of policy. But taking this on the mere ground of policy if having greater wages paid to women would raise the price of articles which they were employed manufacturing, the wage money would come back to the coffers of the manufactory in payment for more goods, because these women could now afford to invest more extensively. With this greater demand for the articles, and the increased supply to meet the demand, the price would probably fall to the former level. Or if the men's wages should be lowered to the present level of women's wages, the articles they were working on would be greatly cheapened, and less money therefore be required to purchase them. Women could then purchase more than they could have done before, for their wages would be proportionally larger. That really is the only way we should figure about wages, computing their purchasing power. Even if this equalizing of wages did make the men some inconvenience at first, adjusting themselves to a lessened income, it would be a good lesson for them. It's a poor rule in political economy that won't works both ways. Once let the rule of equal pay for equal work become established, and no distress would follow except such as might come from righting any wrong. Those who before had snatched the major part of the spoils would of course grumble, but you can easily see the reason why. There would still be as much money to be paid out in wages, but then it would be more justly distributed, and merit, not sex, be the criterion controling the proportions.

Suppose that instead of this sex distinction as to wages, the custom had always been to pay blue-eyed men one-half or three-fourths as much as black-eyed men, and as the blue-eyed might perhaps be physically weaker and with no government protection to compel justice, this state of affairs had run along for centuries. When the blue-eyed men should ask for equal pay for equal work these same opposing arguments could be brought forward. Distress might be caused by increasing the prices of the commodi-

ties the blue-eyed men helped produce, or else the black-eyed ones and their families having been long accustomed to the lion's share would be embarrassed at first adopting their expenditures to the new state of affairs. This is no more ridiculous and unjust than the present sex discrimination. Society can adapt itself to such a change for it is right and just, and right and justice are always possible.

Political economists argue that free competition among the different industries is the most healthful stimulus to production because not artificial. This applies with equal force to different classes of laborers. But now there is evidently a protective tariff on that infant industry male labor. And to evade the injustice of this protective tariff women have smuggled themselves into male attire before applying for work, or labelled themselves with a masculine *nom de plume* that their writings might find unprejudiced readers. George Sand, George Eliot, and Charles Egbert Craddock, from three different countries, have each won renown, first and afterwards disclosed the fact that they were of the supposedly inferior race.

Mr. Chapin also adds that this competition is made sharper because so many women who seek employment are partly or wholly supported by other resources. This is another mixture of cause and effect. It is because women's wages are so low that they must depend on other sources of support. A girl whose father or mother furnishes her board, and leaves her wages for her clothing, is fortunate, but it is just as probable that she must support others. Even if she did have extra support, and be left with a surplus whose business is that? If her work deserved and brought remuneration sufficient that she might keep a bank account, and her parents still continue to support her, she should be congratulated on her prosperity just as any boy would be, and not have her wages diminished on that account.

In concluding the whole matter Mr. Chapin acknowledges that this inequality is greater than it should be, but thinks there are reasons why the remuneration for women's work should always fall somewhat below that of men's, and that absolute equality between the sexes is not likely to be attained.

This summing up of reasons for this inequality, or rather excuses for it, is really about the best and least prejudiced given by any writer on the subject, and though these views are not advanced as the direct opinion of the author, they represent the feeling in the minds of many, particularly in the past. It is to be

hoped that they are false prophets in declaring that this state of affairs will always exist. They have not touched the root of the matter. There are other causes which are at the bottom of this inequality in wages. These causes can be removed and will be. If right is right, and will prevail, then the injustice of paying women less because they are women, and men more merely because they are men, and not for the superior character of their achievements, should and will be removed.

PART II.

REAL REASONS.

IT is not enough to see a wrong, complain about it, and do nothing to remedy it. A diligent search should be made for first causes and remedies may suggest themselves.

John Stuart Mill attributes the inequality between men's wages and women's wages, to men being accustomed to claim the lion's share, and an unprejudiced reader of history cannot fail to agree with him.

But there is one reason why some girls and women do not receive as much as some men which may be a just cause of inequality. Lack of thorough preparation for work has kept some women from receiving as large wages as some well-disciplined men, educated by long years of training for that very business. This lack of training can be traced directly to the prejudice society has had against women learning trades. All sons, in families rich or poor, are expected to learn some profession or trade, so they can gain an honest living independent of parental support. Not so the daughter. When reverses come and some rich man is not on hand to marry the poor girl, she may be at a loss to know how to support herself. She may try in the limited occupations open to women, but they are already overcrowded, and perhaps for the simplest work she is unskilled. As a sewing women she might get work from some large manufactory, and make shirts at seventy-five cents per dozen, or night-dresses at sixty cents per dozen. These are very common rates, and they often run lower. It has been stated, and there are working-women in New York ready to prove it, that shirts can be made for thirty-five

cents per dozen. Women have kept body and soul together on that, and if there was a certainty that even this little would always be paid they might know what to depend upon. But perhaps in a certain dozen garments brought back finished, the Argus-eyed inspector detects one dropped stitch, and immediately slips his knife through the whole seam, refusing to pay for such "botched" work. The woman may be willing to repair it, but in many of these establishments the rule is that such repairs must be made there and charged up to the poor seamstress. or else the price of the whole dozen is kept back, on the ground that the whole lot are damaged by that one dropped stitch. If she were wealthy she might sue the employer for the price of the eleven properly finished ones, but where are her attorney's fees to come even could she collect the whole of the seventy-five cents due? If some benevolent-minded attorney should give his services free and extract the unpaid wages, where would she be benefitted if the angered employer should turn her off? She would wish she had endured the injustice rather than miss even that poor chance of support. Some establishments insist on sending the women's work to them by their own express and charging the cost of conveyance to the women, even though they might prefer to carry it themselves and save the money. Others furnish a poor quality of thread to the women at high rates, which the women also have to pay for.

Helen Campbell's "Prisoners of Poverty" shows the same wrongs afflicting our working women as Walter Beasant has described in his "Children of Gibeon" concerning the poor women of London. The injustice and crimes even inflicted on our poorer women are heartsickening. Helen Campbell tells of girls like "Rose Haggerty," who, after a long struggle to earn an honest living, have at last succumbed to a life of vice. Employers, both men and women, who would withhold from faithful serving women their dues, and in all the petty ways experience has taught, diminish their wages for every trifling excuse, would perhaps assure them that they might live in luxury if they would. Starvation and plenty, misery and luxury are placed before them, and driven by despair and want, they go down to ruin. Caroline Dall, who even thirty years ago was giving valuable lectures to women, and had evidently spent much time in research, charges this wrong as a direct result of low wages to women. Few women fall, through innate wickedness, so say physicians, charitable workers, and even the police of large cities, but from their

inability to gain wages sufficient to keep them in food and clothing. This, to many a girl, is what has taken the place of matrimony. In some cases girls who clerked in stores received wages so small that all of it was needed to clothe them, in the manner the employer had insisted upon, for the purpose of drawing custom.

Joseph Cook tells of one young woman educated and refined, who applied for a position in a leading dry goods house. The manager accepted her, naming the wages she would receive, which were so small she exclaimed, "It would be impossible for anyone to pay for board and clothes on such small wages. How could anyone live?" He pointed to a stylish girl clerk near, saying, "We pay her no more than that; some young man furnishes the rest." Such a man should be held up to the execration of all decent people. It is said that in Boston alone there are eighteen thousand young women living thus, apparently keeping up their daily occupations, but eking out their niggardly incomes by sin. Is it not clear that low wages to women and higher wages to men are rather, "adjusted to the presumption," that some women will receive the favor and support of some men outside the bonds of matrimony, and only thus be "relieved of their own support?" No individual, no business, no nation, can continue long to prosper, even financially, when its foundation is on blighted lives and souls. Will not God lay this sin at the door of the employer, even should he be a pillar in the church, if his stinginess caused this sin, rather than entirely upon the poor victim who, even in this world, must suffer for her sin? Put the blame where it belongs.

If these girls had been thoroughly trained for some trade, or even plain sewing, what a protection it would have been. But if the individual girl in the wealthy family had been brave enough to so oppose custom as to want to prepare herself for some trade or profession, she would have found most of the schools closed against her, and she could have picked up information only by stealth. With all industrial and literary schools, all professional and technical schools shut in their faces, it was not entirely the fault of women when some were not so well prepared as men. But that wave of Christian kindliness which has been sweeping over the world, bringing some justice to the Indians, enfranchisement to the negroes, Christianity and education to the heathen, benevolences the poor, sick and incompetent, protection even to dumb brutes, has at last reached women, and their condition has been gradually bettering, especially during the last forty years. That

great International Council of Women, celebrating the progress, made during the last forty years of wandering in the wilderness, showed the Promised Land was in view, but some battles must yet be fought, much injustice must yet be overthrown.

Another thing that has kept women's wages down to the starvation limit, is that as comparatively few occupations were open to women, these were necessarily over-crowded. Though, as has been stated in the beginning, great advance has been made along this line, all occupations are not yet open to women. They are eligible to very few elective offices, as constitutions or statutes in the various states often limit the candidates eligible to these positions to electors, and that leaves women out in many cases. There is less objection to their serving as deputies and doing all the varieties of work involved, while the male officials hold the positions, do the ornamental, and receive twice as much wages. In the change from one administration to another, when political heads drop off and new, entirely inexperienced officials come in, fresh from the hands of their admiring constituency, it is very convenient to have some woman without official aspirations staying right on, year after year, keeping everything straight, even though men may come and men may go. This shows the real objection is not against women doing the work, but against their having the honor and goodly salary accompanying. While the father of Pœbe Couzins was United States Marshal, the daughter did most of the work, and was so exceptionally competent that in spite of her sex she received the appointment at her father's death. No objections were made as to her management by any of the political parties there, but after a few months she was, as she says, "tossed out neck and heels," with no possible excuse but that she was a woman without political power.

Several states have lately passed statutes enabling women to vote concerning and to hold school offices if they were householders, but as this class of offices embrace more unpaid positions than any other, it seemed rather a necessity to admit some persons, to whom the lack of profits would not be so vital a question. Even here there are so many restrictions and old prejudices to overcome that not many have been appointed.

From the profession of law women have long been debarred, even though individual women have shown ability to comprehend legal principles. Among the learned women of Bologna, Italy, who lectured to students in the Univerity, Novella was so learned in the law, she lectured in place of her father on civil jurispru-

dence, and was counted the equal of judges. At twenty-six she took the degree of Doctor of Laws, at thirty taught law to a throng from all over the world, and conducted her father's cases in court, going veiled. Many women of modern times had their attention drawn to law, going along in the strict line of duty as even society would acknowledge. They were helping their lawyer husbands. reading legal works, preparing briefs, copying papers and looking up authorities just in a clerical way which every one thought all right. These husbands came to have such confidence in their ability, they wanted the assistance that could come from having partners regularly admitted, and so now many of the states allow women to take their bar examinations and even the Supreme Court admits women.

Some of these are Mrs. Bradwell, Mrs. Ripley, and Mrs. Waite, of Illinois; Mrs. Foster, Mrs. Haddock, and Mrs. Johnson, of Iowa; Mrs. Nash, of Maine; Mrs. Bittenbender. of Nebraska; Mrs. Sumner, of Wisconsin; and Mrs. Young, of California, all in partnership with lawyer husbands, and some others fighting alone like Clara Foltz, Ellen Martin, Laura DeForce Gordon, Phœbe Couzins, Angie King, Martha Strickland, Lelia J. Robinson, Mary Hall, Emma Gillett. Belva Lockwood, and others whose names come to my mind.

The arguments presented to debar women from this profession have of course been professedly founded on a desire to shield delicate women from hearing the unpleasant things that often occur in court rooms, but as women defendants are forced to appear there, it could not be more unpleasant for a woman who went voluntarily. As there are only one hundred women in the profession now, with probably half that number in active practice, the experiment has not yet been fully tried. But so far no bad results have come, but many good ones. The sometimes frequent profanity, vulgarity, and tobacco juice can be dispensed with, and the administration of justice be unhindered.

In the medical profession the one thousand women physicians of our country have demonstrated that their entrance is no longer an experiment, for they satisfy a demand long unsupplied. The late Dean Bodley, President of the Philadelphia, and Marie Thompson, of the Chicago Woman's Medical College, with Dr. Mary W. Burnett, of the National Temperance Hospital, are some of the leading lights. But only a quarter of their colleges are open to women, and even where women are admitted to the co-educational schools the he-students often ridicule and sneer, and the

terms "dove-medic" and "hen-medic" are monuments in every such institution of the gallant inventors. Still this is decidedly an advance on the rotten egging bestowed on the first women medical students by the young fellows who wished to show their chivalrous disapproval. "The world do move."

In the ministry few of the so-called orthodox churches have yet shown sufficient catholicity to admit women. It has been stated that the only ones have been the Congregational, which admitted Antoinette Brown Blackwell and the Protestant Methodist which ordained Anna Shaw. It is strange that she who was last at the cross and first at the sepulcher, on whom Christ has showered peculiar benefits, whose faithfulness and love for Him has been shown, through the centuries, certainly to as great an extent as has man's, should be debarred from giving the message of salvation to those around her. If this was another case of protection from the arduous duties of pulpit life the wrong might almost be forgiven on account of the motive which prompted it. But do we not send women off among the Mormons, the Indians and the negroes, yes, to the wilds of Africa, India, China and the islands of the sea, to not only teach the gospel to these most depraved, ignorant and repulsive creatures, but to also live continually and associate with none other than these? At the present day these women are not obliged to marry a man-missionary for a presumed protection, but go alone with nothing but their Bible and their God. We inconsistent mortals here at home applaud their self-sacrifice and contribute money to send more. The road is open and even waiting in orthodox churches, when there is a likelihood that women may have their rooms pillaged, their houses burned over their heads and be themselves, perhaps, grilled alive and eaten by the peculiarly appreciative barbarians of their parish. The time when people object is when a woman applies to be a pastor in a civilized community; where on the Sabbath she could sit on plush cushions, listen to the music of the grand organ and cultivated choir and announce the claims of Christ to a respectful audience of intelligent people, where on the week days she might go among her loving parishioners carrying comforting help to the poor and despairing, be the chief guest at the joyful wedding, the chief comforter at the house of mourning and receive, every quarter, a handsome salary to satisfy the wants of herself and family.

To further prove that these objections do not really spring from the desire of protecting women from hard work, you need

only glance at the pastoral work expected of every minister's wife. She often must be President of the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Societies, of the Dorcas Aid Society, lead the woman's prayer meetings, perhaps help in the choir, teach the hardest class in the Sabbath School, go to all the weddings and funerals, be present to comfort the sick and afflicted, call on new families, look after wanderers, keep the parsonage open and orderly for the convenience of any parishioner who may drop in to tell her woes, give the latest news, or look into the corners for dirt. Always cheerful and ready to help everyone, standing guard when her husband must not be disturbed, cheering him in discouragements, perhaps preparing his sermons when he is sick, and in emergencies delivering them—all this every good minister's wife is expected to do. In marrying him she really marries the profession, as no other profession is ever married. The lawyer's wife owes no duty to her husband's clients, nor the physician's wife to the patients, but a minister's wife who would refuse to shoulder the foregoing burdens would be considered unfit for the high calling for which her husband was being paid. Indeed these services of hers were counted upon in hiring her husband. "No unmarried men need apply," said the church committee, when looking over the list of applicants; "Nor widowers either; for the minister's whole attention should be directed to the church and not to courtship, and a man without a wife can't reach half as many people or accomplish half as much." So the fact of his being a married man with a capable wife has added to his value in the ministerial market fully one hundred per cent, and the difference in wages will show this. The unsophisticated may imagine that this difference goes to the one whose efforts has caused the advance, but that shows little knowledge of life.

There really is a new profession not yet named, but carried on all the time. It is the profession of being minister's wife or she pastor. The duties are clearly defined; the necessity has been greater than the supply, and the salary limited to the rewards of the hereafter. The churches need mothering as well as fathering, just as much as the family does. There is work here no man can do well, but why should the one qualification be marrying a minister? Here is a scheme which, though somewhat fanciful, has some good sense in it. Why not name these two officials in the church the preacher and the pastor, paying each a salary for their labor? If the two happened to be married well and good, for then they might work in closer harmony. But if the preacher be

in that unfortunate state of adolescence, known as bachelordom, why not cease these urgent hints that the parish needs a minister's wife, let him follow his own sweet will and appoint some good mother in Israel to act as pastor and splice out his immature efforts. If either sex should happen to be left alone, the woman, if she had had advantage of the theological training schools, would not fall far short of the man in successful work. There are now in this country two hundred women acting pastors conducting the whole work, with no man assisting, but only two of these, as mentioned before, in the orthodox churches. As exhorters and revivalists women have done much that has been acceptably received. But it looks almost like a step fifty years backward to see one of the largest and most powerful denominations refuse seats in their General Conference to the women delegates. It would be a sad day for that church, if the three-fourths of its membership which are women who have been decided not to belong to the laity as laymen, should adjourn in a body and organize a church where women could be laymen, appoint Frances Willard or Angie Newman or any of the other of those snubbed women as bishop, promote their women exhorters and revivalists to the rank of presiding elders and pastors, and move on to victory. But they won't do it. Long years of such kind of work has so accustomed those women to repression and submission that such a revolt would only emanate from the brain of a visionary. Later developments, however, do not promise submission.

In higher positions of trust and responsibility women are becoming more sought after. A leading man of business said lately: "There have been so many cases of embezzlement by bank cashiers that I am afraid to trust the average young man with money. As we don't hear of women defaulters I consider it a matter of precaution to hire women cashiers. They don't have their card parties and wine suppers, do not gamble, smoke cigars nor drive fast horses, and so, of course, I need not pay them more than half what I would a young man." Senator Blair once said: "Though many women have been appointed to important employments and trusts, as far as your committee are aware, no charge of incompetence or malfeasance in office has ever been sustained against a woman." In all the vast business done by the Palmer House in Chicago, the money is only allowed to pass through the hands of women cashiers. Though the salaries are less, being admitted to the position is something of a victory.

Other occupations not closed against women by positive enactment, have been by popular prejudice, and it has taken wonderful ability in the individual woman to overcome this obstacle.

So great has the advance been that there are now instances of women being presidents of colleges, bank directors, managers of business firms, editors of influential journals, superintendents of states prisons for women, professors in medical colleges, members of prison committees and state boards of charities, inventors, farmers, master in chancery, weigher on cotton plantations, police matrons, station agents, mayors, telegraph operators, deputy sheriffs, U. S. marshal, train dispatchers, shipping clerks, butchers, ship builders, and inspectors of lumber. Mrs. Dow is President of the Dover Street Railway Company, Miss Kittie Wilkins the cattle queen of Idaho, Miss Anna Whitney proprietor of the Chequasset Kennels, at the head of the mastiff breeders in this country, while in France Madame Isabelle's method of horse taming and training so pleased the minister of war he introduced it in all the imperial schools of cavalry.

The latter mentioned kinds of business and the learned professions have in them, when once entered, much less injustice to women than the so called lower walks of life, perhaps because women with so indomitable spirit and with friends who have encouraged them thus far would not tamely submit to injustices they could publish far and wide. But even if these favored few were treated with perfect justice, which is not yet the case, could they be selfishly silent when thousands of women with no such preparation for advanced work and no such encouraging friends are wearing their lives away struggling for a mere pittance, and even that sometimes snatched away by the greed of employers? Government should not exist alone for the protection of the rich, the talented and the influential, but also for the poor, the ignorant, and the helpless. We should all feel that

> "Whenever a wrong is done
> To the humblest and the weakest 'neath the all-beholding sun,
> That wrong is also done to us, and we are slaves most base,
> Who ask for rights for self alone and not for all the race."

Women who attain high positions do benefit all women by showing they can fill them well. By doing this higher work, places are left below for other women. It is not enough to have indirectly benefited one's fellows; selfish motives alone would dictate that more should be done. Who knows what revolution in the wheel of fortune may bring them among the more humble breadwinners, or, if not them, perhaps their daughters or grand-daugh-

ters? It is among factory girls, clerks in cheap stores, and sewing-women that most distress prevails.

There is one occupation open to women which must not be forgotten, where the demand for workers is always greater than the supply of applicants, where comfortable shelter and food is assured, with some money in addition for clothes. This is kitchen work, or, more generally, housework, and even the benevolently inclined are angry with working-women because more do not enter this occupation. Housekeepers complain that in no other employment are the laborers so thoroughly unskilled. No factory would employ them, no store engage them, no woman give them sewing to do. But the next moment after the ignorant foreigner lands she presents herself as capable for kitchen work. Even if from England, Scotland, or Ireland, she scarcely seems to understand our language, does not seem to know the name of a single article of food or cooking utensil and does not know how to prepare anything unless it might be boiled potatoes, and these, if uninstructed, she would be quite likely to boil unwashed and unpeeled. If the head of the house thinks it takes no brains to do kitchen work, let him live for one week on the crude productions of one of these ignorant foreign domestics and then another on the triumphs of the culinary art manufactured by the skilled housewife and he will see the difference. Mistresses further complain that she never makes the distinction between the dish-towel and the hand-towel, she will wipe up a spot of grease on the floor or spilled water with the dishcloth instead of the mop, wash the silver and glass after the kettles, iron the coarse towels with care and slight the daintiest handkerchiefs, rub the lace trimmings with vigor and slack up on the sheets, sweep all the dust up towards the ceiling and throw the beds together, making them resemble a cross section of chaos. All this, if she is teachable, and patient, and goodnatured is hard enough, but should she chance to have a temper, then woe to mistress and maid, for there will be a dissolution of relations before sundown and the mistress begin "breaking in a new hand," while the maid seeks pastures new at a slight increase of wages, on account of her additional experience.

During the time, the girl received her board and room and wages, was being taught the language, and instructed into that mystery of mysteries, housework. In other trades the apprentice serves for nothing until the trade is learned, and in the professions the student spends time and money to prepare himself, but here no qualification seems to the maid as essential except a total lack of

ability to do anything else. Therefore mistresses have little sympathy for sewing-girls starving and shivering in garrets, when for them with their added intelligence comfortable homes are waiting which would be glad of their ministrations. There are generally two sides to a question, and this is the mistress' side.

It is true that there is a great and increasing demand for competent help in the kitchen, and working women seem averse to this. Right here it should be remembered that no human being should dictate to another what she must do in the line of a business, and if she prefers to starve and freeze in a garret making shirts at forty cents per dozen, it is her own affair, and no one else has a right to dictate, though the humanitarian naturally wonders why she makes such a choice. Some of the reasons given are that housework for others is considered degrading; that many have families with whom they must live, thus preventing them from entering domestic service, and that the snubs and overseeing a kitchen girl must submit to, no thing freeborn would endure.

As to the objection that housework is degrading, no honest work done with a proper motive can degrade any one. Carlyle says: "Blessed is he who has found his work, let him ask no other blessedness." George Herbert: "Who sweeps a room as for Thy laws, makes that and the action fine."

Some seem to believe that authority alone is to be envied and service for others despised. But service for our friends is the greatest expression of our love. He who was the grandest Leader, and whom countless thousands have been proud to follow, "Came not to be ministered unto, but to minister," and thus performed for mankind a service that can never be estimated. He dignified and ennobled labor. Nothing is degrading which is helpful to others. As much christianity can be displayed in performing the duties of maid-of-all-work as in preaching eloquent sermons or giving largely to charities. Some by peculiar natural ability and training are exactly adapted to make good teachers, others physicians, artisans or merchants, and still others have a natural genius for being cooks, and who shall say which is the nobler calling? Housework and cooking must be done and by some one. In the past, during the reign of asceticism, care for the body was declared to be time worse than wasted. The hair shirt, midnight vigils, poor food or fasting, were considered to render the mind more spiritual. But now science and medicine teach that mental and spiritual states are greatly affected by physical care or neglect, that parents can starve a child as to his mind, morals or physique

before birth as well as afterwards. As these bodies should be fit temples for the Holy Spirit, the care of them is a duty owed both to one's self and to coming generations. Sour bread, burnt meat, soggy potatoes, strong butter, overly rich pies and cakes, leathery pancakes, underdone pork and indigestible biscuit, do not alone deprive the body of proper nourishment, but make the mind dull and slow and the temper irritable. So the faithful domestic servant may be doing more practical good than the philanthropist whose charity might be limited to words. Still, however, much some may argue that this work is not ignoble, others show by their actions that they believe it is.

Mistresses who complain the most about incompetency of help often do not treat an intelligent, capable girl well when they get one. There are mistresses and mistresses the world over. Girls of spirit complain that they are not treated as though they were human, or had a feeling in common with other folks. The hardest and dirtiest work falls to the girl, and after that is done she is not her own mistress like a sewing or factory girl. The constant serveillance and petty fault-finding possible under a domineering mistress gives domestic service the hard name it has, and increases the belief that it is the character of the work which is intolerable, when it is only an unkind overseer. These two things are so interwoven it is hard to separate them. Ignorant help makes the mistress strict, even domineering, and an arbitrary mistress drives girls of ability and intelligence away from the occupation.

Another reason why girls do not all go into domestic service is because some are not adapted for that kind of work, and would rather work for a pittance at their chosen calling than undertake something for which they had no taste. Again, girls and women must often support or help support aged parents, little brothers and sisters or their own children, and so must have some kind of employment which will let them work at home, keeping the oversight of their charges. This might be done in the case of sewing, and even in factory work, the girls have their evening to themselves and short noonings. This would be impossible in domestic service. How hard for a woman with a child to find a position here, and if they had several brothers and sisters it would be out of the question. This dislike of housework would be partially removed if mistresses were kinder, and then capable persons would be lured from the over crowded circle of sewing women. Those who did remain there would be benefitted by this exodus, for competition would be less and wages gradually rise. With

added common sense these mistaken notions of gentility will fade away.

When Margaret Parker visited this country she noticed the great need of skilled domestics, and as she knew many capable, intelligent women in England, receiving but small wages, she induced one hundred and fifty to come over here to enter domestic service. They were met at Castle Garden by members of the W. C. T. U., or of the Sorosis, and safely started for their ultimate destination, California, where many a weary housewife received them gladly. There has been so increased a demand she has promised to send over another party soon. Still, even in the domain of housework, men are continully encroaching on woman's hemisphere, and as they advance are continually charging more for their work than the women. Men are baking our bread, papering the walls, whitewashing the ceilings, sewing our tailor made garments, sewing and putting down carpets, even invading the kitchen itself, and some women, mistresses, are silly enough to pay the he-cook the larger salary.

Millicent Garrett Fawcett says, "The reason women receive less pay for the same work as men is not because women's work is worth less, nor because they have no one dependent on them, nor because they have no trades unions, but because there are so many of them, and there are so few openings for their employment. The few trades open to women leads to their over-crowding these. This brings down the wages, and is the chief argument against admitting them to other trades, in many of which women are regarded as little better than the 'heathen Chinee' in California."

The last reason which will be mentioned here why wages have always been lower for women, and, to my mind, the foundation reason, is that government has never bestirred itself in women's behalf as it might have done if women had been represented there. Canon Kingsley said, "Never will women have social equity till they have legal equality." This will be further spoken of during the latter part of this article under the head of "Remedies."

PART III.

REMEDIES.

SOME benevolent-minded men and women, seeing the suffering such wrongs have occasioned, have not contented themselves with expressing their sorrow, but have sought remedies for this distress. These remedies naturally fall into two divisions, those which merely aim at temporary alleviation of the misery and those which aim at permanent cure.

Those whose efforts fall under the first division fear that while they are waiting for the progressive spirit of the age to bring in the era of justice and equality, many poor victims of the present unjust systems will still be suffering, or be removed by their troubles beyond the reach of earthly suffering. Therefore these people try to make the small wages go as far as possible, and when earned to force them out of the hands of unjust employers.

A leading organization in securing wages due working girls, protecting women and children from all kinds of abuse, and also securing the conviction of their destroyers is the "Women's and Children's Protective Agency" in Chicago. Leading attorneys have promised their services in case of need, and editors of influential papers have, like Wm. Stead, freely opened their columns for the portrayal of these wrongs. The Agency's greatest work is probably in the amount of wrong it is going to prevent. Vicious, hardened characters will not be so liable to defraud and ruin women when they are protected by wealth and influence. This Agency has only been organized about two years, but their last year's report showed that $10,000 of wages wrongfully detained from working women had been recovered with little or no expense

to these women. Another still more recent organization planned and started in motion by Mr. Joseph W. Errant, is known as The Bureau of Justice. It will also include cases of injustice to women, though not limited to such. It has a strong backing of prominent business men and attorneys, and will co-operate with the Woman's Agency. Women are showing themselves unworthy of the old reproach that women would never help their sister women rise, but would instead scornfully turn them back to vice. The exceptions have been so numerous they have ceased to be exceptions, and are now almost the rule. Other cities have lately organized associations somewhat similar for the same purposes as this Agency.

Furnishing cheap and respectable boarding places is another method of alleviating present needs and sufferings. In Chicago, on Illinois street, is such a place about a year old. An average of sixty girls have been sheltered here, with accommodations now for twice that number. The rooms are clean and warm but plainly furnished. No one earning more than six dollars per week is received. The more fortunate ones can go to some institution that is paying expenses, for this is partially supported by benevolence. A parlor comfortably furnished with piano, books and pictures adds much to the homelike features. Occasionally some friend provides an evening entertainment of reading or music. Mary Allen West, whose excellent management of the *Union Signal* insures success, is one of the foster mothers of this institution.

There are also institutions for fallen women like the Erring Woman's Refuge, where girls are received, cared for until well, taught some useful trade and then discharged when they are strong enough to venture into the world again to earn an honest living. The institution, both outside and inside, looks much like a girl's seminary. Scrupulous neatness prevails ; the inmates are young girls mostly, not looking like hardened, depraved creatures, and are dressed comfortably and neatly. Occasionally some poor sufferer of an incurable disease was seen in bed with a look of despair on her face. The day we were privileged to look through was just after a visitation by the Flower Mission, and every girl there, the cooks in the kitchen, the young mothers in the nursery, the sufferers in bed, and the girls in the sewing room had each her sweet smelling bouquet and verse of scripture tied with the white ribbon. Perhaps it was that which brought the look of hope into so many faces. The Matron said that when the girls were

brought there, they were in utter ignorance of how any kind of work should be done, but after they were taught an honest trade were able to support themselves, and thereafter lead pure lives. Such institutions are increasing, New York city alone having ten reformatories. An institution somewhat similar is the Girls Industrial School at Evanston, where little girls are admitted, educated and taught some trade or business. There is much more hope for these inmates because they are so young, have not sunk so far and can therefore be reclaimed much easier. The one trouble about these institutions, and especially the last one is, that they are not supported by state funds, but out of private charity, which is so limited that comparatively few of those who should be sent there can be accommodated. If there was a state reform school for girls as there is for boys, if there was a woman's reformatory as in some other states, then such effort could be more widespread and effective. These institutions mentioned are the ones with which Illinois is most familiar, but it had better look to its laurels, for St. Louis, on our border, has a working girls home that quite eclipses the Chicago home, and Indiana, on the other side, has a reformatory for women that is a state institution.

Among the various public institutions for the benefit of working women, one stands out in special prominence, The Seaside Institute at Bridgeport, Conn., built and furnished by the Warner Brothers, for the comfort of their employees. The appointments are not only comfortable, but elegant. Everything in the line of home attractions is furnished, and good food provided at reasonable rates should the employees care to dine there. It is a step in the right direction when employers plan to expend a portion of the profits for the comfort of those who helped earn them. In the *Century* Washington Gladden gave many interesting details.

In over thirty of our leading cities, under the auspices of the W. C. A. or the W. C. T. U., there are boarding-houses, libraries, evening classes for industrial instruction, reading-rooms or employment bureaus. In the New York Temporary Home meals are provided at nine cents; in the Boston Berkely Street Home meals are provided and instruction given free for those who desire training in household work. The Philadelphia Home also supports a cottage at Asbury Park for the working girls during summer vacation..

The Girls Friendly Society is a quite prominent organization within the Episcopal church, binding together ladies and working girls for mutual help. There are seventy branches in America.

It is an important aid in emigration. Girls from foreign countries, landing on our shores without friends or money, are often decoyed into haunts of infamy. Some women of these Associations meet the girls when they land ; furnish protection for a short time until the girls can be sent to their friends or respectable employment found for them. Father Riordan, of New York city, worked in this direction for a long time alone until his thought ripened into a generous building. His work met with such hearty approval that in many Protestant churches collections were taken up for the benefit of Father Riordan's Home.

Associations for the relief of the poor and unprotected working women have been organized, not alone among charitable people, but also among the working women themselves, which is the most hopeful sign of all. The better class of employers should welcome it, for they have been simply forced to employ poorly paid women as a matter of self-preservation against competition. The silk weavers and feather workers each have a union ; also the button-hole makers, paper-box workers, fur operators, bookbinders, hat and shirt makers. In New York alone twenty-five thousand women are organized into trades unions, either separately or with the men, as in the Knights of Labor.

One of the foundation principles among the Knights, is that of "equal pay for equal work," and they are doing and will continue to do much for the promotion of justice. There is a useful mission for such organizations, but not in fostering strikes and boycotts or nourishing rebellion, and it is to the credit of the Knights that their leaders, and the better element are opposed to anarchy. But the lock-out and black-list, on the other side, are just as bad. It is a sure mark of ignorance to strike against a falling market. It will fail of its primary object yet may accomplish lesser ones, for even an unsuccessful strike may make employers more moderate thinking of the anxieties and the troubles from which perhaps this time they had emerged victorious. The work of these unions may at first be blind, for ignorant and helpless members are easily led astray through the loud upbraidings of ignorant demagogues. But men have had liberty of speech and the ballot at their command with which they might gain redress, and so have really needed such organizations less than women. Leonora Barry, the talented orator of the K. of L., is doing much good by organizing co-operative associations among the women.

Another kind of society organized among the working girls themselves for mutual self is exhibited in the New Century Guild

of Philadelphia, and the Club of New York under Miss Grace Dodge. The girls help in the management of expenses, have classes and entertainments and a vacation society, through which they send some of their members off for needed rest. "The Lend a Hand Club" work among their own sick and needy members. They have a savings bank, and are encouraged to economize. Miss Ida Van M. Etten, who has lectured at Vassar and Johns Hopkins on the subject, is an active worker. Movements similar are beginning in England, France and Germany,—all aiming at the temporary alleviation of the present hard lot of working women.

But the class of remedies which aim at ultimate cure of these wrongs are far different. Here we probe deep down to the wound, find the primary cause, and try to remove or change these primary cause. The former study of the real reasons why women receive less pay for their work than men, will, of itself, suggest the remedies. The three remedies which seem feasible are, give women the ballot, insist on all occupations being open to them, and then give them opportunity to thoroughly prepare themselves for whatever profession or industry they may wish to enter. The ballot here stands first, for through it alone can these other results be accomplished with any degree of permanence, though perhaps the thorough training should precede the opening of the occupations. Still the ballot would be the only assurance that some arbitrary freak might not place women back in their old position. All three of these should be worked for together.

Many philanthropists and writers on economy have argued that the opening of all occupations to women was necessary, in order to bring about equality in wages. Dr. Lewis says: "Girls have the same need of food and clothes as boys, but at the usual occupations for girls can get but one-half as much. If girls would only enter a hundred trades and occupations to which they are as well adapted as boys, it would cure the social evil far sooner than by circulating tracts." Mr. J. L. Gregory, an authority on economics, says: "The range of women's work is smaller than that of men, and they are much more sensitive to the esteem in which their business is held. They crowd the professions which are open to them, or those they deem it respectable to enter, and thus by their crowding and competition lower the wages of their own sex. An enlargement of the sphere of work open to, and respectable for women, will tend to equalize wages between men and women."

Many of these professions and trades need special technical training, and so these technical schools must be opened for women or others established. Very few of the oldest and highest law, medical, literary, theological or technical schools have yet opened their doors freely to both sexes. In most of the homes established for working women which have been mentioned previously, training classes were one prominent feature. But here only the simpler trades were taught. In France, Industrial Colleges are being established, particularly for women, and the same thing here would meet a long felt want. Horace Mann said many years ago, "If women can enjoy the two highest and most sacred rights which belong to the race, the rights of fair occupation and full education, I am content to leave all other questions to be hereafter settled by the ampler knowledge and maturer wisdom which shall then be brought to their decision."

Some people have complained that girls do not pick up what training they might, and instance cases like Mary Booth of *Harper's Bazaar*, who now has a salary of $8,000 per year, beside what she makes at outside work. A friend tells of a clerk who entered a glove department in a Chicago dry goods house, devoted herself so carefully to learning all the details about shape, quality, and manufacture, that her extensive knowledge became so marked she was continually promoted, until she is now travelling saleswoman for the Fostor Kid Glove company, superintending the sales of the firm in all the principal cities. Cases like these are pointed out to show that women of extraordinary ability can and have overcome obstacles. But there ought also to be opportunity, for women of only medium ability, to use that in the place where the greatest results would spring forth.

One objection still powerful in the minds of some is, that if every pursuit is freely opened to women, perhaps they will cease to marry, and so cause great national misfortune. If, as these people insist, married life is the only natural and normal one, they need not fear that outside innovations will change the law of nature here, any more than it will affect the law of gravitation or the succession of the seasons. Only with these changes can housekeeping and matrimony as professions compete on equal terms with other occupations. Men will still have an opportunity to make domestic life attractive, and if girls should seem averse to it the reason is that the old hardships have not been entirely removed. Even now the rule given by Schouler is: "The wife is expected to conform to her husband's tastes, habits, even to his

eccentricities, provided her health be not seriously endangered by so doing, and modern law seems practically to accord to the husband the ownership of even the wife's body, provided he does not wantonly abuse her." As long as such rules continue some of the best women will reject matrimony on such unequal terms, and justice-loving people can not blame them.

The question of Sex in Industry called forth a valuable little book from the pen of Dr. Azel Ames, whose kindly desire to promote reform is not questioned. He claims and proves by many instances that factory work is prejudicial to the after health of the young women who are employed there during the forming period of their life. He claims the mortality of girls between the ages of ten and twenty is greater than that of boys during the same period. He mentions factory work, sewing, telegraphy and stenography as particularly detrimental, trying to prove that such occupations are out of women's sphere. Dr. Clarke speaks in much the same strain concerning the effect of education, especially co-education, on the health of girls. Their two books, though written no doubt with kindly motives, are filled with continual references to delicate matters, concerning which they would show more modesty in silence. To be forever thrusting woman's sex in her face is not only tiresome but little short of insulting. Mr. Brassey claimed that infant mortality was so great among the miners and farmers of Russia because the mothers endured the severest labor in the fields and mines and therefore, peculiar conclusion, public life should be shut against women.

Some of these men recommended a Council of Salubrity, similar to the one in France. This council should determine what occupations are fitted for women, at what age they should be allowed to enter, in what condition of health, and other such details. It is to be hoped our government will never do anything of the sort. Have not men from time immemorial been self-elected as such a council, though perhaps never named by that high-sounding title? They have marked out the sphere they would allot to women, and by statute law and public prejudice have debarred the women from higher occupations. Along back in 1875 an old fogy, Dr. Van de Warker, said, "This effort of women to invade all the higher forms of labor is a force battling with the established order of sexual relation." Would he be an acceptable member of the Council of Salubrity, ordaining what occupations women might enter? What would they think of women continually prating to men of their duty to be fathers, and, as some

employments and professions might partially impede this, women would establish a council to decide what occupations men should be allowed to enter, intimating that the higher walks of life were more suited to their superiors who composed the council? What a meddlesome sex they would count the women. But they see no impropriety when the tables are turned. Where would these opposing philosophers bring us? Dr. Clarke, who claims the mortality among college girls is greater than among factory girls, would perhaps rule them out from the schools—at least from some schools; while Dr. Ames, who claims with as much insistence that the health of factory girls is the most endangered, might debar them from factory work, and Dr. Van de Warker keep them from the higher professions. If some other philanthropist would arise to show that the greatest mortality among women comes during the cares of married life, with the occasional poundings, shootings, and breaking of bones, incidental to domestic warfare with drunken husbands, and for that reason bar women out from matrimony, though this is almost unimaginable, then with all these avenues of industry closed by the benevolent councilmen, there would seem but one thing left which women could do and not be counted out of their sphere, and that would be to die at once and be over with it.

But women are already in many of these industries and in some of the schools, and will probably stay there. The proper subject of inquiry, is how to alleviate and redress their wrongs, and not how to inflict more upon them. A systematic division of labor, giving to women those parts of factory work for which their nimble fingers are best adapted, and to men what their greater strength could best manage, would relieve much distress. The mortality among factory girls could be lessened if greater attention was paid to heating, disinfectants for foul odors, removal or prevention of dust, ventilation, allowing girls to be sometimes seated at their work, all these would be more substantial benefits than keeping girls out of these occupations.

Continually thrusting maternity into women's faces as a sure sign that the Creator intended them for nothing else, is a relic of barbarism. Did He not just as clearly intend men for fathers, and are they doing their duty by their offspring to as great an extent as are the mothers? Is it mother or father who are sending down to future generations, blood poisoned by tobacco, alcohol and vice? Perhaps if the women were all miraculously good and healthy and bright, this evil influence might be neutralized to

some extent, so the race would be nothing worse than mediocre. But let not the paternal and the manly duties be entirely neglected. It is truly deplorable that young girls should be obliged to begin factory life so early, but equally so when young boys must begin life's struggle long before they reach manhood. Then give them each a fair chance without imposing extra burdens upon the girl. Allow a woman the right to do anything she can do, trusting to her natural instincts to keep her away from places unwise for her to enter, just as we trust man to select his own work. Remember, that of the numerous avenues opened to woman, none have ever been closed because she failed in what she attempted.

If all people were guided by conscientious motives, a presentation of the right and wrong of this question would be a sufficient guarantee that the right would be followed and the wrong forsaken. But if we depend alone on the justice of abstract reasoning, we do not follow the common sense that guides us in other matters. Though it is acknowledged by all wrong to murder or steal, we do not rest content on this moral conviction, but insist on laws to punish theft and murder, elect officers to protect tl e innocent, and when crimes are committed to seize the offenders and enforce punishment. Thomas Brassey said: "In the work of elevating the masses, government has a part to play that can not be neglected. Government will be sure to touch these people justly or unjustly." So in the case of injustice to working women. However much the before mentioned remedies may mitigate their sufferings, nothing advanced or lasting can be effected except through the strong arm of the law. People may write and speak against these evils, try moral suasion to the fullest extent possible, but there is no assurance that readers or auditors will be effectually or permanently persuaded. Legal suasion must now be tried. There must be laws so fixed and definite that the humblest, the weakest and the most ignorant, can find speedy relief from injustice.

What laws should be passed? What ones would prevent injustice in these particular lines? First pass an enabling statute rendering women eligible to all professions, occupations, and offices. Admit them to all industrial or professional schools supported by public money, punishing unjust discriminations and exclusion on the ground of sex as severely as if on the ground of race. Establish a separate reformatory where bad women convicted of leading lewd lives, or of having committed other crimes

may be confined and educated. Establish for little girls a reform school similar to the ones for boys, and here force them to learn a trade of some kind. Count it a crime for an employer to attempt to corrupt an employee. Punish seduction with imprisonment. Make the punishment of crimes against girls greater than that for horsestealing, extending from imprisonment for five years or life, to hanging, according to the enormity of the offense. Let not the rules of evidence presume a girl consented to her own ruin unless she gives overwhelming proof of the contrary. Let the law presume a girl is chaste until she is proved otherwise. Give married women complete control of their own property and earnings, and a share in the control of the children. Give women a place on juries, especially when any matter pertaining to women is being investigated, so that women too may be tried by a jury of their peers.

But how can men be induced to put such laws on the statute books and enforce them? It is too much to expect. Even the best intentioned legislators would not be apt to think of them. Legislators are too busy with gigantic plans concerning revenue, elections, railroads, corporations, appropriations, breeding cattle, restricting (?) the liquor traffic by giving it governmental protection, and matters affecting their own interests and those of their constituents. And why not? Elected by a certain party or set of men they are expected to legislate not alone for the country's good but for the benefit and protection of those on whom they depend for re-election. Did the women elect them? Would or could they defeat them? are the questions asked by our politicians. Then what reason can be presented to them for bothering themselves about women's interests? Whatever they do is a gratuity, or if suggested by their electors, then a gratuity on their part.

The poor protection afforded by the law to woman's person is a sample of the legislation or lack of it in her behalf on other matters. The wages question and the social evil are so closely interlinked that when you touch one you touch the other. Hunger and want from lack of work, or ignorance of it, low wages, even perverted love itself tend to lead a young girl astray. But when overcome by superior force surely then the law should avenge her wrong and punish the guilty wretch. But on the contrary so many ways are devised to evade the law, it seems to have been purposely framed to shield the guilty. Enough force to resist an attack of another kind is not sufficient. She must resist with the

last atom of strength. Sagacious attorneys will read from law books musty with age, both as to cover and contents, that she has been given hands with which to pound, teeth with which to bite, feet with which to kick, nails with which to scratch, and a voice with which to make an outcry, and should she fail to use these natural weapons to their utmost, there is no redress. Two recent cases show this principle is still insisted upon.

In the first case a gentle girl with little force of will power was attacked by one who for years had been their trusted family physician, whose powerful will and magnificent physique could have easily overpowered one of twice her strength. True she cried, pulled back and kicked, but finally escaped from the affray with no bones broken, and so the jury, thinking she could not have resisted very much, only sent the wretch up for one year, the smallest punishment they would have inflicted on a horse thief, or any one who had stolen property over fifteen dollars in value.

In the other case the girl must have struggled with the fierceness born of despair, for, as reported by the papers, when rescued, two ribs were broken, a hip dislocated, her chest pounded black and blue, one finger the villain had seized in his mouth was nearly chewed off, while scratches, bruises and cuts filled up the vacant places on her person. She was deemed to have attempted her defense, and as the wretch plead guilty before two or three witnesses standing ready to corroborate him, he was sent to the penitentiary for seven years. But she had to nearly kill herself before a jury would have imagined she had fully resisted. Truly girls should now be taught this, that they must fight until the very death. As long as one drop of blood flows in their veins they must shed it in defense of their chastity, as long as one remnant of will remains it should be exerted, as long as soul and body hang together they must struggle fiercely. Only thus can they save their fair fame under our present laws. A girl brought up on the "clinging vine and sturdy oak" theory would be a sure victim.

Such wrongs have not only been against single individuals but against whole classes, as has been lately published to the world concerning the Pinery Horrors. Advertisements in the city papers, promising steady employment and large wages for girls in boarding houses in northern Michigan and Wisconsin, attracted large numbers of ambitious girls. When they reached their destination they discovered they were entrapped for the vilest of purposes. High board fences were built about their places of

confinement, and even should any especially daring, quick-witted girl manage to escape, there were trained blood-hounds ready to hunt her down. From a couple of girls who did escape, facts were learned that would curdle the blood. Some reporters and legal officials sent there to investigate these horrors were bribed into compliance and quiet. It will not hurt women comfortably situated to read these accounts and grow faint. Let them worry nights, troubled by the horror of it. What right have they to be at "ease in Zion" when their sister women are suffering such ruin? It won't hurt them half as much to hear about it as it did for the victims to endure it. If only these horrible facts could be thrown into the midst of elegant, unthinking assemblies, to shock them into action in behalf of tortured womanhood! Law should have been the force to have made these terrible things impossible. If only our laws would make the path of virtue easy and the road to destruction more difficult, if it would only be a strong safeguard for the unwary, a hedge about the ignorant, if these hard-working girls were only protected instead of being pursued! Perhaps this is too much to hope before the mother heart of the nation finds legal expression. Then only when a true woman's influence can be exerted with power, then only will weak, timid girls, then only can bashful, ignorant ones, then only can honest, hard-working ones find protection and redress.

If then the laws as made and administered by men seem so deaf to these greater crimes against a woman's person, can we expect much change concerning a matter of dollars and cents everything else remaining the same? A legislature of carpenters would be quite likely to neglect the interests of butchers or dry goods merchants. A legislature of white men would be very liable to forget the black men, unless they were dependent on them for votes and favor. If the Indians were not wholly at the mercy of Congress, with no power to seat or unseat the members, their wrongs would have speedier redress. The ballot in their hands would take off the political head of their unfaithful representative as the tomahawk had often severed physical heads. Conscience and justice play little part in the matter. With governmental matters for centuries in the hands of men, it is against experience to expect them to legislate with exact justice concerning women and women's wages.

Mother Wallace had her eyes opened to this by her first public address before a legislative body. As governor's wife she had been accustomed, for long years, to the greatest civility from the

highest officials, and so, of course, expected the same chivalry would be shown her when she presented to a legislative committee the right and justice of the bill she was advocating. Instead, they heard her with half-concealed contempt, and expressed their scorn for women in general by sneers and winks and leers. The representative from her own district explained that however much such a matter might recommend itself to his conscience and sense of justice, he was obliged to vote according to the opinions of his constituents, and they were opposed to that bill. Then for the first time she realized that only when she and others like her were his voting constituents would he favor such measures. The duty of demanding the ballot was clear.

Then, too, in that memorable presidential campaign when Frances Willard, with her body guard of consecrated white ribbon women, went before the committees of the different national conventions, pleading with the eloquence that is the peculiar gift of Frances Willard, that some of these large parties would take up the cause of the home against the saloon, many of the gray-haired politicians present were so moved by her pathos that tears flowed freely down over cheeks unaccustomed to this evidence of emotion. But this tribute of their tears was the only tribute paid her words in most cases, for those hoary-headed gentlemen cried, and went and voted the other way in behalf of the influential politicians whose wire pulling had placed them there. The saloon was more powerful than the home, beause the home had no political representatives.

Anna Shaw tells of a similar experience she had before a legislature in Massachusetts. The women had gone to various committees year after year with very little attention paid to their request for better legal protection for women. This time on their way out they met a few sturdy, determined looking men who evidently wanted immediate attention paid to some matter. They were milkmen, and had been much disturbed because some mischievous people had been defacing and moving their milk cans left at the houses. They stated their grievances, and as soon as a bill could be drafted, it was presented to the legislature and passed without opposition, and yet, as Lucy Stone says, "It had taken them three years to discover that a woman should own her own clothing, and nine to decide that a widow should be buried in the family lot."

The reason of the difference in the treatment of the milkmen and the women was because the milkmen were voters who could

speak in tones of authority, while those women were not voters and could only plead.

So when women ask for justice concerning wages can any simpler, more decisive method be devised than that of giving women the ballot? Then legislators would be keenly alive to impositions and injustice practised upon their constituents.

Any objections that have ever been brought against women's having the ballot would, if carried out fully, deprive many men also. There are no new objections Those brought forward now are the same old moss covered ones that did duty fifty years ago. They are all based on side issues too, and do not come down to foundation principles, the right and justice of the whole matter. Let us scan briefly a few of the objections that are advanced most often.

Some say "Women are too weak to vote," as though dropping a bit of white paper into the ballot box would require tremendous force. If physical ability be the only proper qualification would not many deformed, decrepit men be also debarred? If women as a class are physically weaker than men, that is an added reason why some other means of protection should be put in their hands to overbalance the lack of physical force. There are some women who are physically superior to some men, and if this is a proper test and should be applied without discrimination of sex, then some women would vote and some men would not.

Some say "Women can't fight, and so ought not to vote." But they can fight. We read that the women of ancient Britain fought by their husbands sides, and their princesses were trained to the use of arms in the Maiden's Castle at Edinburg. The Moorish matrons and maidens defended their European peninsula, and the Portuguese women fought on the same soil against the armies of Philip I. The King of Siam has at present a body guard of four hundred women. In 1829, among the census returns of St. Petersburg, is found the following: "Soldiers and subalterns, 46,676 men, 9,975 women." This is found in a book published in London entitled, "Female Warriors." There is also another work in three large volumes written by Mrs. Ellet, "Women in the Revolution," giving instances of many who have taken part in that war.

The Countess Plater of Poland raised and equipped a regiment of five hundred at her own expense, and was uniformily at their head, encouraging them by her brave example. The women prepared to form three companies of their own sex, which so aroused

the men's patriotism, the women finally only needed to go as nurses. Not only did women enter war openly, as in the foregoing cases, but later women have been in the army disguised, and in the most dangerous positions of the secret service. They are better known as nurses, and the names of Florence Nightengale, Clara Barton, and Mother Byckerdike arouse as much enthusiasm as that of any man-warrior. If military service were the test, some women would be admitted and many men debarred, for now men over forty-five years of age, members of certain professions, and occupants of certain offices are exempted, amounting to nearly half the legal voters. As the matter now stands, women are in as much danger of being forced to go to war as if they had the ballot, and even more so, for then by means of their ballots they could vote to have their whole sex exempted from military service, while now what could hinder a legislature of men, if they so willed, from making military service obligatory on women alone? You may say they wont, but they could, for there is no constitutional or statutory authority prohibiting such a measure. Man's fighting ability is not his noblest trait, and few even of the opposition could really want the women of the nation to be soldiers.

That woman is man's mental inferior is scarcely ever mentioned now, because the public schools have long ago proved the contrary; nor are there many who have the hardihood to proclaim woman's moral inferiority. To those, one glance at the penitentiaries, where three-fourths of the inmates are men, and another glance at the churches, where three-fourths of the members are women, should be convincing proof to the contrary.

Some say that women do not want to vote. That, if true, would be no argument against the justice of granting her the ballot, for many a caged bird that never knew what freedom was has lived out its days in apparent content, knowing nothing better. But is it true? If so, what do these petitions so numerously signed by women, mean? They have poured in upon our legislators for years, and hundreds of thousands of women have there asked for this right.

Another complains: "The bad women will vote." Why should they not? Are the men who make them bad debarred? It is to be hoped that bad women will vote, for remembering their own persecuted, unjust girlhood, they would be anxious to make protective laws of which unwronged women would never think. But at present immoral women are not interested in the move-

ment, and never have taken part in favor of it. The suffrage leaders are women from happy homes of pure private life. If there was a certainty that only women of impure lives who are leading others astray, would use the ballot, and that too in favor of impurity and wrong, would not saloon keepers, procurers, gamblers, abandoned men and blacklegs strongly approve it? But no, not a single man of this kind favors the movement. The National Brewers and Distillers Convention expressed their opinions fully when they declared they would oppose always and everywhere the ballot for women, because it meant the destruction of their business. A recent Iowa convention followed right in this line, saying that as they would prefer the uncertain transitory annoyances of purgatory to the everlasting pains of hell, so they would prefer the delays and evasions of a Prohibition law to the certain torments of woman's suffrage. How can christian people of intelligence wish to stand on the same side with these immoral law-breakers?

Some think it would cause domestic discord, and also that every woman would vote like her husband or father, not seeing that both these objections could not be true in the same family. If the women voted with their husbands where could discord arise? If voting on the other side angered the husband that would be more of an argument against male suffrage, for if he is now so unreasonable as to be unwilling that she should express her own convictions, how would he ever be supposed to properly represent her? Because the joint head of the house may think differently is the very reason why the man can not, does not, and will not represent the woman. If he wants sugar in his coffee and she don't want any in her's, would it not be possible for them to live on friendly terms? It would only be when he should insist on her also drinking her coffee with sugar, just because he liked it best so, that any family jar could occur. The same would be true in politics.

Some professedly pious people have objected because the Bible does not grant women the ballot. A certain old lady once aptly replied: "Turn right to the chapter and verse where men are given the franchise, and the very next verse gives it to women." But seriously, the whole tend of Bible teachings, especially in the New Testament, has been to place woman and man on the same moral and social plane, and Christ's religion introduced to heathen nations no innovation greater than that of kindliness and justice to woman. He was Woman's Friend.

Others complain that man's chivalric feeling for woman would thus be lessened. Let it lessen, then, if it is founded on nothing higher than her degradation. A little less sham chivalry and a little more pure justice is what women are asking for now.

Many who oppose universal suffrage seem willing that women of intelligence, wealth, and moral culture should vote, but not the poor, the ignorant, or the wicked. If these tests were also applied to men, there would be less injustice, for the women would be willing to stand up for examination. School statistics show that more girls graduate than boys, and they often receive more than their share of the prizes. If, as suggested recently by a southern gentleman, the ability to read the constitution should be the one test, more men would be disfranchised than women. But as wealth and education are themselves means of protection, she who has not these needs the ballot much more.

Women without the ballot are, for no wrong of their own, unjustly ranked with those from whom the ballot is withheld on the grounds of incompeteney or crime. Idiots, lunatics, criminals, minors, paupers, Indians, Jeff. Davis and women can not vote. Such an indignity heaped on the head of American womanhood should arouse every latent spark of chivalry and justice now slumbering in the breast of American manhood.

Where either the whole ballot or partial suffrage has been granted to women, it has proved beneficial. In England where for fifteen years women with certain property qualifications have voted, even the limited franchise, to use John Bright's words, "Has proved good for women, good for Parliament, and good for the country," so that now it has been extended to the women of Scotland, and the Canadian women have municipal suffrage. In Wyoming Territory women have voted for eighteen years on the same terms as men, and in Washington Territory after a four years trial, the bill was again overwhelmingly passed, and though again declared unconstitutional on another ground, it is clear that the people want equal suffrage. Kansas, the first state to grant municipal suffrage to women, credits this bill to the eloquence of Helen M. Gougar, who went all over the state presenting the facts to the people. Other states are now seeking her help, hoping to follow Kansas' good example. Though the political light for women has gone out in Utah, every woman being disfranchised whether polygamous or not, there is a ray of light in New York, which will increase as their women learn that the state no longer imprisons women for voting. Fourteen states

have also permitted women to vote for school officers, which, though not a very extensive or powerful franchise, hedged in as it is, still is a foretaste of privileges and rights yet to come.

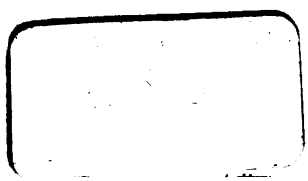
In these progressive places what has been the effect on the polls and on the women? The polling places have been removed from livery stables and saloons to more dignified quarters. The men and women make election a holiday. Great respect is shown the fair voters, and they are seen to use their own judgment, scratching their tickets as vigorously as men. No office seeker can hope for the support of the women unless his life will bear the most critical inspection. This is a summing up of the verdict of governors, judges, delegates in Congress, and newspapers from these favored precincts. The influence of women as voters and jurors in Washington and Wyoming Territories has made it so unsafe for horse thieves and blacklegs that they poured forth into the country adjoining to such an extent that some of the Governors there have advised giving women the ballot to protect their own dominions from such ruffians. Among those who favor giving women equal political power with men, are some of the wisest, most patriotic people of this or any other time. Their names alone should give the cause success. Here are a few of them: Joseph Cook, John Quincy Adams, Henry Wilson Nelson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James A. Garfield, Theodore Parker, Benjamin F. Wade, Charles F. Thwing, Henry Ward Beecher, Bishops Haven and Bowman, Abraham Lincoln, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Bishop Simpson, Charles Sumner, Wm. H. Seward, Chief Justice Chase, Wendell Philips, Longfellow and Whittier, John Stuart Mill, Huxley, Charles Kingsley, Herbert Spencer, and also those grand women who composed the International Council.

The qualifications of a voter should be, a love of country, a personal interest that needs protection, and a capacity to judge of men and measures. Women have these essentials to as great an extent as men. Women would not be obliged as one of the essentials qualifications to wear gay-colored oilcloth capes and carry torchlights; to march through dust, rain or mud escorting public favorites; to render night hideous with their outcries when their pet candidate arrived in town; to attend public addresses for the purpose of uttering piercing shrieks and whistles, and pounding the floor with their parasols, and shouting occasionally concerning some leader, that "*He's all right,*" just to show how very patriotic and enthusiastic the great constituency was. Neither would it be necessary to treat all the "boys" to cigars, or take

some unconvinced voter up a back alley to sample the contents of a peculiar looking black bottle. Nor would it be necessary to scheme and intrigue and slander. These are not the essential qualifications of voters, and high minded honorable gentlemen are not obliged to go through this rigmarole, neither would women. They could and would drop in their ballots in a gentlewomanly manner and then go home.

What the ballot has been to the working man it will be to the working woman. It will educate the ignorant, protect the poor, raise the fallen and defend the helpless. Then with the manhood and womanhood of our country represented at the ballot box as in the home, this will no longer be a government "of the men, for the men, and by the men," as Mrs. Gougar says, but one of, for, and by the people, men and women both.

Then it will not seem such a travesty that the Columbia imprinted on our coins and renowned in verse is a woman, or that the scales of justice should be always held by a woman. Then it will not seem such a vast sarcasm that the wonderful statue at New York harbor, holding aloft a lighted torch for the guidance of vessels coming from foreign ports, whose passengers hope to gain enlightenment from our institutions, that this statue, representing Liberty, with freely flowing robes, should be fashioned in form and garment after her who of all others in this vast country has long been denied the enlightenment of the franchise. Let us claim it as a prophecy of what is to come. Woman, the last one to be allowed the ballot, will bring with her enfranchisement such success, such new life, new purity and justice to our government, that only then can our glorious country presume to hold the light showing others the way to true liberty. The signs of the times indicate that this is approaching. Then only will complete justice be done women. Then the whole sex will be elevated, and with them the whole race.

"All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

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